1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

565
563 sub-stratum. Most of the rural and urban workers who fell within the third class were Negroes, mulatos, or dark-skinned mestiços.

At the bottom of the social heirarchy was a small group of cidade dwellers of menial position. These were porters, water carriers, washerwomen, domestic servants, and odd-jobbers. This class was chiefly Negro or mulatto, but there were some brancos da terra.

565
369 The homes of the aristocratic upper class were all located on fazendas outside the cidade. The lowermost class was entirely urban. The other classes were both rural and urban in distribution. The aristocratic upper class did not intermarry with, nor receive new members directly from, the local upper class. There was some social mobility between the various levels in the lower class.

The above analysis of class corresponds quite closely to the general class structure throughout the sugar-cane zone and with modification to Salvador. The composition of the upper class of Salvador is more complex. Here the upper stratum is composed not only of landed aristocrats and their dispossessed descendants but also of urban capitalists and speculators. These latter often have agricultural landholdings, but usually as an investment rather than as a way of life. These people are generally newcomers to the upper class. The professions also have their place in the upper class, since members of the families of aristocrats, dispossessed aristocrats, and capitalists are often prominent doctors, lawyers, and, in recent years, engineers.

The more complex composition of the upper class in Salvador is a product of the economic decline of the aristocratic family and the concurrent rise of powerful business interests. This development reflects the growth of a greater degree of social mobility among the upper class of Salvador than is characteristic of the sugar cane area.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

565 To the extent that the economic and social position of the aristocratic
• 369 group is usurped by the new upper class elements in Salvador, the pre-eminent role of the aristocrats in the sugar cane zone is threatened.

565 In Bahia the strong aristocratic class derived from the sugar
249 cane system. Outside the sugar areas a well-defined aristocratic class is lacking--the upper level in these areas is occupied by groups similar to the local upper class of the sugar zone. In the tobacco and manioc zones, around the sugar cane area, the members of the local upper class, including those with urban residences, are very intimately involved in agriculture. In this agricultural zone the upper class has few personal or family connections with the Salvador upper class.

565 The lower class outside the sugar areas is composed of cultivators and urban workers and probably has more gradations and a less heirarchical structure than is characteristic of the sugar area. The cultivators are semi-independent small farmers, renters, and share croppers of varying dependence and social position. Social mobility appears to be about equal to that in the corresponding stratum of the sugar zone.

565 Compared with the United States, the opportunity for educational
871 and cultural development in the lower class is much more severely re-
[212] stricted by the prevailing poverty. Effective literacy is low among the manual laborers of city or countryside. The middle groups and local upper classes are usually, but not universally, literate, but for the most part their cultural horizons are limited. In contrast, the cultural opportunities and outlook of the aristocratic and big-business class is both cosmopolitan and sophisticated. Education in Rio de Janeiro, São Paulo, Europe, or the United States is not uncommon. Nevertheless, large segments of this class remain distinctly provincial in their cultural orientation--this is particularly true of the decadent aristocratic families.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

565 (festas) and informal social activities. The uninhibited enjoyment of
796
[184] a samba (dance), a candomblé (fetish cult observance), a religious procession, or a Saint's day by the lower class is very different from the self-conscious upper class behavior under comparable conditions.[16]

565 The discussion above is largely in terms of stereotypes, and
562 in fact there are many exceptions. In the upper class, strong-willed
369 women may on occasion enter a profession--such as nursing or teaching--or operate a business or plantation, but usually with the aid and the advice of male relatives. In Salvador the upper class women are relatively more emancipated than are those of the villages and towns.
565 Many lower class people, especially the less poverty ridden groups of
596 the villages and towns, tend to imitate the idealized upper class
369 family pattern, within the limits of their economic, educational, and social resources.

565 In general it may be said that the interests of upper class
571 families in the Recôncavo are regional, the interests of lower class
621 families are local. The areally and biologically extended families
59 of the upper class, interconnected through marriage and intermeshed in over-all economic, political, and social interests, are a basic element in the regional unity of the Recôncavo and in its integration into the Brazilian nation. In contrast the extra-local interests of lower class families are weak and unstable. The lower class community or neighborhood identification is the more effective unifying factor and seems to provide, in the Recôncavo, a focus for local interests generally lacking in at least the aristocratic and urban strata of the upper class.[17] However, the institutions of the community for the most part are maintained and directed by the aristocratic and the local upper class.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

241 433 463 [369] [162]

Economic Orientation of the Population. The Baianos of the Recôncavo are predominately an agricultural people. This is true not only of the actual cultivators and the associated economic classes of the countryside, villages, and towns, but also in a sense of the almost 350,000 urban peoples of Salvador. As a result of longstanding economic interdependence and continuous travel and migration back and forth, the associations of the people of Salvador with the soil are compelling and personal.[18] In their agricultural orientation the people of the Recôncavo are typical of the general Brazilian population. Even with the inclusion of Salvador, with its relatively [162] large number of domestic and industrial workers, 47 per cent of the male workers of the Recôncavo were classified as agricultural laborers, whereas for the nation as a whole the comparable figure was 57 per cent, and for the United States, 31 per cent.[19] In the Recôncavo, if Salvador is disregarded, agricultural workers (with hunters and fishers) composed 65 per cent of the total male working population.

241 433 441

Agriculture is even more important than the above figures indicate, for a large share of the remaining population of the Recôncavo is occupied with processing and marketing agricultural products, supplying the agriculturalists with goods and with credit, or serving indirectly the needs of agriculture. Thus it is evident that life and livelihood in the Recôncavo is essentially dependent upon agriculture. The agricultural orientation of the Recôncavo is reflected in the economic roles of individuals and classes, but also in the preoccupation of the people with matters of soil, climate, crops, and land value. In Salvador the price and market for agricultural products are commonplace subjects of discussion, and throughout the region merchants and businessmen observe the weather and conditions of the crops with interest and, on many occasions, with anxiety.

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

128 Demography of the Recôncavo. The discussion of the composition and distribution of the population in the Recôncavo which follows is intended primarily as a basis for the study of agricultural phenomena. As such it is concerned with those population elements which are important in the production and distribution of agricultural products and in the servicing of the agricultural economy. The agricultural labor force is therefore the primary object of analysis, while the remaining population elements receive secondary consideration.

128 162 241 464 369 The population of the Recôncavo has been divided into two segments: (1) the rural population of the countryside and villages, which includes those engaged in direct agricultural production and those with a direct service or dependency relationship to agriculture; and (2) the urban population of the towns and cities, which has an indirect service or dependency relationship to agricultural production. (Table VI). The rural population has been subdivided in order to distinguish the agricultural labor force, consisting of those in direct agricultural production as workers or as administrators, from the service and dependent groups.[20] The accompanying table (Table VII) relates the area, total population, urban and rural population, and agricultural labor force of the 21 municipios of the Recôncavo.

241 464 [162] Agricultural Labor Force. Conceived in the narrowest sense, the basic human resource for agricultural production in the Recôncavo consists of the energy and skill of 196,000 agriculturalists--the agriculture labor force (Table VIII). In census terminology these are people ten years old or over who consider their principal occupation as that of employer, employee, or worker in crop cultivation (agricultura), animal husbandry (pecuária), or silviculture. In the Recôncavo these people are primarily cultivators and operators of farms

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 112]

I:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

TABLE VI

TOTAL, URBAN, AND RURAL POPULATION OF THE MUNICÍPIOS OF THE RECÔNCAVO IN 1950

Município	Total Population	Urban Population (Urban Centers with Manufacturing)	Rural Population (Total minus Urban Population)
Alagoinhas	52,007	21,283	30,724
Cachoeira	26,979	10,825	16,154
Catu	16,437		16,437
Conceição da Feira	10,532		10,532
Conceição do Almeida	25,407		25,407
Coração de Maria	20,256		20,256
Cruz das Almas	32,276	6,758	25,518
Feira de Santana	107,205	26,559	80,646
Irará	46,711		46,711
Itaparica	21,433		21,433
Maragogipe	36,868	9,744	27,124
Muritiba	31,605	7,452	24,153
Pojuca	6,911		6,911
Salvador	417,235	389,422	27,813
Santo Amaro	85,739	12,258	73,481
Santo Estêvão	31,665		31,665
São Félix	14,801	5,872	8,929
São Filipe	25,343		25,343
São Francisco	11,077		11,077
São Gonçalo	30,830	3,771	27,059
São Sebastião	21,135		21,135
Recôncavo	1,072,452	493,944	578,508

Source: Anuário Estatístico do Brasil-1953, Ano. XIV.

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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

161 force of the 21 municípios--without regard to direction of change--was
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241 13 per cent.
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[634]

In general the area around Salvador and the northeastern and western margins of the Recôncavo gained in agricultural labor force (Map 19). The Central Recôncavo and areas in the north-central, eastern, and southwestern Recôncavo lost agriculturalists between 1940 and 1950. Some of the factors which produced these changes were local; others were identified with the Northeast or with Brazil as a whole.

The growth of cities in the Recôncavo is a manifestation of a nationwide phenomenon. The expanding urban centers create an increasing market for agricultural products which, because of the difficulty of transportation and the lack of food processing facilities, must be supplied primarily from local sources. These expanding markets attract discontented or displaced agriculturalists, who settle as close to the urban center as possible. There is a marked increase in the concentration of agricultural labor around Salvador, Feira de Santana, and Alagoinhas.

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166 In 1950 and 1951 the urban trend and its agricultural con-
[369] comitant was re-enforced by a specific Northeastern phenomenon--the
[241] flight from the drought (sêca) of the interior. Most of the refugees (flagelados) from the dry sertão settled along the periphery of the Recôncavo. Here, where they could remain close to their cherished sertão, much land was open for squatters. As indicated above, others settled around the urban centers of the Recôncavo caatinga zone--Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas.

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464 Observations suggest that the greatest relative increases in
198 agricultural labor force from the sertão were in the municípios
166 bordering the Recôncavo on the west and north, where the "normal"
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1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

464 extravagant urban centers, the oil field and refineries north of the
Bay, and the fishing and shipping industries. Moreover, this area has
[565] a larger upper-class element, which as has been seen, could be counted
upon to perform manual labor only under dire circumstances.

464 Thus in all parts of the Recôncavo the local labor reserve
241 readily available for agricultural production and expansion is small.
In compensation the general high mobility of the lower class would
make available non-local reserves,[31] providing the proper incentives
were offered. The exploitative agricultural system of the Recôncavo
is ill-equipped to offer these incentives.

162 Urban Population. The remaining 493,944 people of the Recôncavo,
• 369 46 per cent of the total 1950 population, lived in the nine major
433 urban centers. These people have much the same relationship to agri-
cultural production as the "service segment" discussed above, but the
relationship is less direct. These urban centers are engaged almost
exclusively in serving and in exploiting the agricultural population
of the Recôncavo and other agricultural areas of Bahia.

633 Salvador is the dominant city of the Recôncavo and of Bahia.
162 In 1950 it contained 389,422 people, 36 per cent of the total popula-
tion of the Recôncavo and 8 per cent of the total population of Bahia,
or 79 per cent of all urban people of the Recôncavo and 41 per cent
of all urban people of the state. The next largest city in Bahia was
Feira de Santana--less than one-fourteenth the size of Salvador.

633 Although Salvador is the fourth city in Brazil, it is much
smaller than either Rio de Janeiro or São Paulo and somewhat smaller
than Recife.[32] It ranked just above Pôrto Alegre in total population.
Salvador, often called either Bahia or o capital, cannot be interpreted
entirely or even predominately in terms of the Recôncavo. While its

[TEXT CONTINUED ON PAGE 132]

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

633 tributary area does not extend beyond the state, it does include the coffee and cacao areas, parts of the São Francisco basin, and the sertão of Bahia. It is the focus of transportation and communication, of finance and administration, and of foreign trade for the entire state. Despite the economic, political, and social pre-eminence of Salvador, a few cities operate quasi-independently in a particular function, notably Ilhéus and Itabuna, in the cacao area.

The next largest cities in the Recôncavo--Feira de Santana and Alagoinhas--are much alike in size, location, and function. Feira de [162] Santana--often called merely Feira--with 26,559 people in 1950, was the second largest city of the Recôncavo and of the state. It is the [543] cite of one of the most famous cattle fairs in Brazil.[33] Alagoinhas is smaller--21,289 people in 1950--and less notable historically. It is the third largest city of the Recôncavo and the fifth largest of the state. One of the common functions of both these cities is trans- 633 494 496 portation. Feira is the railhead of railroads from Salvador and from Cachoeira and is the junction of the Transnordestina trunk highway which crosses the northeast interior of Brazil, with a highway to Salvador and with the only highway from Bahia to Rio de Janeiro. Alagoinhas is the junction where the railraod (Leste) to Senhor do Bonfim and Juàzeiro--on the Rio São Francisco--branches from the main line from Salvador to Maceió, the capital of the state of Alagoas. Just outside Alagoinhas are the main railroad shops of the Leste line 633 (Viação Férrea Federal Leste Brasileiro). The position of these cities, 369 intermediate between the Recôncavo and the sertão, is reflected in 291 the appearance of the people who are met on their streets--dark 142 Recôncavo agriculturalists in straw hats, patched khaki trousers, and wooden clogs and rustico vaquéiros (cowboys) from the sertão in 633 495 their leather hats and vests. Each has a number of postos (garages) 161

443 diers (ambulantes) who walk through the area in the summer selling combs, ribbons, jewelry, and perfumes.

561 One of the most important factors influencing the fortunes of
565 the town of Vila Recôncavo is the diversity of attitudes toward it held by different segments of the local population. The most
369 powerful group, although small in number, is that of the plantation and sugar-mill owners. The orientation of this group is polarized between the capital city, Salvador, and the plantations. There is no one living in the town who is included in the same social stratum as these people, and therefore the town is not a social drawing point for them as it might be in the plantation area of the southern United States. Vila does not represent a shopping center for them, and it is not an outlet for their sugar. Since they are so near the capital, business is transacted there rather than in the small rural town with its poor communications. This group as a whole looks upon the town as a decadent and backward place. There is little or no feeling among these people that they should "do something" to improve the town, to which they feel little or no allegiance. Rather, their allegiance is first to Bahia and to their own social class in the state, and second to the Recôncavo, the original seat of that class.

The plantation and sugar-mill workers also disregard Vila to a large extent, generally not considering it worth the effort involved in getting there. For these people the market in Centro and the sugar mill store are the major attractions of the area. Their social life is centered almost entirely within the plantation or at the sugar mill.

The town dwellers themselves have an ambivalent attitude toward their town, for, while they also feel that Vila is backward and without opportunity for personal advancement, they
369 nevertheless consider themselves an urban group in contrast to the plantation workers. Recent improvements in the town,
365 such as the installation of electricity and the introduction of radios, movies, and other electrical appliances, as well as the pavement of the mud streets with cobblestones, have been a great help in alleviating the former forlorn air of the town, once known as the "abandoned" town. The local population still
[652] speaks of this earlier state a great deal, almost with the haunt-
[653] ing fear that such conditions might return. The funds for these public works came from sources outside the county, that is, from grants of money by the state government during the epoch of the interventores, the governors appointed during the dic-

tatorial regime of Getulio Vargas. One of the last of these was a son of the county who wished to leave a permanent remembrance of his family in the town. Most of the work was done by local labor, which brought a certain measure of prosperity to the town. Certainly the appearance of the town changed. New façades were added to many houses; others were freshly painted in gay colors; and some people constructed cement sidewalks in front of their homes. At night the streets are brighter because of the electric street lights (which are turned off at midnight) and because of the rays of bright electric light passing through the cracks of the closed window shutters and doors.

Almost every evening at dusk, however, the electric power of the countryside is shut off for at least an hour because of inadequate generating facilities at the main plant, leaving the countryside and small towns in darkness. At this hour the town returns to its past, and one seems to be in an era one, two, or three hundred years ago. Tiny oil lamps (fifós) are lighted, or an occasional kerosene lamp, the soft and short-reaching rays of which barely penetrate the heavy darkness of the house and do not reach the street. A hush falls over the town during the spell of darkness. All the old fears of shadows, malevolence, and lobishomens (werewolves) return. The family congregates in one room, for no one wants to be alone, speaking softly as though not to break the spell. The streets are suddenly emptied, and the silence is broken only by the occasional forlorn braying of a donkey left wandering outside.

Without light there is no life in Vila Recôncavo. The evening religious service is delayed; the movie is delayed; the bar closes. One thinks of the impermanence of the new prosperity, remembering how quickly the moist salt air can blacken the gayest-colored building, how the heavy rains can wash away the foundation of a mud house, how fast the weeds can grow in the cracks of the pavement, and how by the flick of a switch in some faraway place the magical lights are removed. A heavy gloom settles over the town and remains until, as suddenly as they went off, the lights return. Life picks up again, radios blare forth at fullest volume, and Vila Recôncavo once again is grateful for light and life, however impermanent.

Although this is a traditional area, few local people know its history. Only a few can provide historical data going back further than one generation, and even fewer know anything of what lies behind the "glorious past" of Vila Recôncavo, a

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1981) 1987 8011 Bahia Brazilians 8011

VILA RECÔNCAVO

5. Town Life

THE OCCUPATIONS of the townspeople in Vila Recôncavo differ considerably from the pursuits of the people in the rural zone. The town residents are engaged in gaining a living from a number of small enterprises; the economy is a money economy, and not one dominated by mutual obligations and rights, as it is to a certain degree on the plantations. Vila Recôncavo is the county seat and lacks any organized commerce or industry. It can be called an administrative town, inasmuch as government employment is the life of many of the people, especially the town's upper class.

The economic occupations of the townspeople can be divided into four groups: (1) the bureaucrats and merchants; (2) the group which serves them, such as cooks and laundresses; (3) a middle group of artisans whose greatest asset, as well as liability, is their independence; (4) a small group of people who do not fit into any of the three groups above.

According to the census which was taken in June, 1950, the labor force of the town numbered 459 persons, including men and women. Of the 459, eleven listed themselves as unemployed. The remainder of the population were listed as housewives, students, small children, and old people who were retired or incapacitated. In this category, which numbers about one thousand people, there are individuals who engage in part-time work, such as carrying water or firewood or doing piecework sewing--in other words, small occupations which in their eyes are not worthy of being classed as employment.

The occupations which were listed can be broken down into the four groups mentioned above as follows:

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECONCAVO

were included in Group 4 because they worked for a nonprofit charitable institution.

Occupationally, the town dwellers differ sharply from the people of the rural area of the community. Their work rarely requires them to go out of town to the rural area. Of the entire working force of the town, only twelve men are employed in the sugar industry. Even during the harvest season, the town does not supply men to work in the cane fields or the factory. However, the few people in town who have mules occasionally rent them to planters during the harvest season to help carry the cane. The twenty-five petroleum workers have to leave town each day for work, but their work is also very different from that of any of the rural dwellers.

In the town, as on the plantations, there is specialization and division of labor. Among the fishermen, each man fishes constantly with one or two types of net. Change from one type of net to another is unusual and disliked. A fisherman seldom supplements his fishing by planting a garden. Instead, he depends upon his catch of fish to give him enough money to buy garden produce, as well as meat and manufactured articles. In his turn, the gardener never fishes, depending upon the returns from his garden to buy what he does not produce.

Daily routine for the fisherman varies considerably because it depends closely upon the tides, while the daily routine of merchants, teachers, and bureaucrats, as well as household servants and craftsmen, follows a more citylike pattern, beginning at about seven in the morning and ending late in the evening. There is also less seasonal variance in the work of the town dwellers, for it does not depend upon the planting and harvesting of crops as does that of the rural workers.

The town and plantation ways of life also vary considerably with respect to paternalism, which plays a much smaller part in the life of the town dweller. Most of the municipal bureaucrats have patrons among the rural landowners who have placed them in their bureaucratic positions. Bureaucrats, in turn, are to a smaller extent the patrons of people living in the town, particularly of their household servants. Although they have neither the financial resources nor the prestige to provide the security which a rural landowner can offer his people, they do what they can to help whenever asked. This help often takes the form of asking their own patrons for help

2: Hutchinson E-4, 8 (1956-1957) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

[Town Life]

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for another person. In this way paternalism helps to link the two subcultures together. Nevertheless, the town subculture is much more of a money culture, and in general the people of the town are more independent than those of the rural area.

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
VILA RECÔNCAVO

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has already been accepted by other members of the upper class as their equal or nearly so.

Race or color prejudice finds its strongest expression at just this point--marriage into the upper class--but even here, if the mestico is sufficiently light-skinned, educated, and well mannered, he or she can and does marry into the best families. The importance of the "bleaching process" in this society cannot be overestimated, for apparently the trend is toward lighter skins and straighter hair on a national scale. In the case of a marriage between one known to be of mixed descent and a member of an upper-class family, no point is ever made of the fact that one partner is "less white" than the other. Aside from the question of marriage into the small top group, color merges in importance with the other criteria, such as economic situation and education, in the contention for class position.

The three-class system which has been implied in the foregoing passages has recently been thoroughly described.[2] Although finer local distinctions have called for the addition of a fourth class here, Vila Recôncavo provides an excellent example of the various national classes. As in all discussions about this community, the urban-rural distinctions must be kept in mind. The local class system may be portrayed as follows:

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TABLE 2
SOCIAL CLASSES IN VILA RECÔNCAVO

	Urban	Rural
Class A	none	landowners
Class B	local bureaucrats, merchants, professional people	plantation administrators, mill technicians, specialists, office help
Class C	fishermen, gardeners, craftsmen	millworkers, field hands
Class D	laundresses, servants, persons without steady employment or craft	none

2. Charles Wagley, ed., Race and Class in Rural Brazil (Paris, 1952), pp. 144 ff.

21 Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brasilians SO11
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and the social forces compelling them to conform to this ideal are strong enough to keep them at home.

To some extent the Class B families take as their pattern the older traditions of the upper-class families. The father is the most important person in the home and has the final word in all decisions. His wife is not his equal in a social sense and plays a much more passive role than the women of classes A, C, and D. This, however, is slowly changing, for married couples of the younger generation are beginning to share more activities, such as going to the movies, visiting friends, or going on short trips to Salvador. But this is a recent development and applies only to four couples in the town. The others still maintain the old pattern whereby the man attends social functions while his wife remains home. On occasion of a farewell party, invitations were carefully extended to the married couples in Class B at the author's instigation. Of the thirteen couples invited, only four came together. In the other cases only the husbands came. Among the others, one of the husbands was away, and his wife would not come to the party even though her mother, father, and two sisters did. It is still common for the wife either to remain discreetly silent or to disappear altogether when her husband has visitors at home, and among the older families the father and his guests are served separately at meals, the women of the household eating afterwards alone.

Family life in rural Class B follows to some extent that of the town family of the same class. The father is the central figure in the family and makes all decisions. He travels about the community while his wife remains at home. The sons of overseers, however, are seldom sent to Salvador to school, although the sons of Class B families living at the factory usually are, at least for a short time. So far, however, none of them has entered a profession.

As has already been stated, the women of rural Class B lead much the same kind of life as the women in Class C, with whom they associate. Daughters are guarded carefully, while sons are placed in some advantageous position whenever possible, frequently through the aid of the plantation owner or usineiro. They may enter the factory office, and in several cases they have been set up in business on the plantations, running small stores which belong to their fathers.

A daughter of Seu Paulo, the overseer of the Fazenda das Moças, married the son of the overseer on a neighboring

[Class C Families]

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sen because it is the name of the saint on whose day the child is born. There is also a good sprinkling of the more common names such as Antonio, João, Lourdes, and Maria. But if a child develops any peculiar characteristics, either physical or personal, he or she will be called by some descriptive term based on the peculiarity. Most people have nicknames such as Patão (Big Duck), Barco Velho (Old Boat), Cuspe Grosso (Thick Spit) or Gatinho (Little Cat), and in time their own proper name is forgotten almost entirely and used only for formal occasions such as signing records. The diminutive form of the given name is also popular, and is applied even to upper-class people, for example, Dr. Zeca (diminutive for Dr. José). In some cases a man is even known by his mother's or wife's name, for example, José de Ingracia.

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In choosing godparents, there is great freedom. If possible, at least one of the godparents will be a member of the upper class, a patron who will help the child if necessary, especially if the godson when he grows up wants to go to school in the city or enter the army or navy. The other godparent may be a member of the child's family, or in some cases the midwife. In many cases the wife chooses the female godparent, especially if she suspects that her husband is paying too much attention to some other woman. In such a case she asks that woman to become the godmother; the latter can hardly refuse, as it is always considered a compliment. By becoming the godmother the woman is put effectively out of reach of the husband, as there can be no sexual relations between parents and godparents. This is a common device of women who have an unmarried sister living in the home, and it usually calls a halt to any amorous intentions on the part of either the husband or the sister. There have been cases, however, where this rule was broken. Usually the couple who break this taboo are highly censured by the rest of the community, for the wife, if she finds out, tells her friends about it. In one case which occurred in Vila Recôncavo during the author's stay, the woman was so ashamed and frightened by the sin she had committed that she killed herself by drinking rat poison.

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In the rural area, while the man is usually acknowledged to be the dominant person in the family, it is the woman who dictates most of the daily actions. The children are with her most of the time, helping in the house and working with her in the garden, both girls and boys. When schools opened recently on several of the plantations, it was the mothers, not

1:Haskins K-4,5 (1952-1954)1956 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

TABLE VII

RELATIVE POPULATION OF THE MUNICÍPIOS OF THE RECÔNCAVO IN 1950

Município	% of Area of Recôncavo	% of Total Population of Recôncavo	% of Urban Population of Recôncavo	% of Rural Population of Recôncavo	% of Agricultural Labor Force of Recôncavo
Alagoinhas	12	5	4	5	6
Cachoeira	3	3	2	3	2
Catu	3	2		3	3
Conceição da Feira	1	1		2	2
Conceição do Almeida	2	2	1	4	5
Coração de Maria	2	2		4	4
Cruz das Almas	2	3		4	5
Feira de Santana	17	10	5	14	15
Irará	11	4		8	10
Itaparica	2	2		4	1
Maragogipe	3	3	2	5	4
Muritiba	3	3	2	4	4
Pojuca	3	1		1	1
Salvador	6	39	79	5	6
Santo Amaro	9	8	2	13	10
Santo Estêvão	6	3		5	6
São Felix	1	1	1	2	2
São Filipe	3	2		4	5
São Francisco	2	1		2	1
São Gonçalo	4	3	1	5	4
São Sebastião	4	2		4	3

Calculated from Características Demográficas do Estado da Bahia, No. 8 and Anuário Estatística do Brasil-1953, Ano XIV.

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[Class C Families]

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• 369 the fathers, who insisted that the children go. In the case of a woman who moves in with a new husband and brings her own children, she always makes it clear that the children are hers and not his. She will allow no interference from her husband in the matter of disciplining her children. Often the best possible relations exist between stepfather and children, but he never gives orders to them. The rural mother in all cases seems to be more exacting with her offspring than the town
[861] mother. It is not uncommon for a rural mother to beat her children, even those who are grown men, with the cipó de caboclo (a switch), whereas this would never happen in the town. She also extends her control over them even after they are married, counseling them and helping when she can, and criticizing them severely if she does not like something they do.

883 By the time they are in their late teens, boys become in-
584 terested in courting (namoro), though girls often start ear-
212 lier. If a boy sees a girl who interests him, he manages to
832 meet her as often as possible on the street or at the dock, and by looks and slight remarks makes it clear that he is interest-
[206] ed. Or, if he can write, he may send the girl a note through a common friend. In Vila Recôncavo the telephone office is a popular place for making one's interests known, for the telephone operator is a young woman who is highly respected by most people in town and well liked by young people. A note typical of those which may pass through her hands is as follows:

Vila Recôncavo
January 7, 1951

Dona Therezinha, Salutations:

I am absolutely convinced that you do not doubt the sincerity of my love, which is always manifested so clearly in my letters and in my face when I see you.

So, I equally have the conviction of having the strange happiness of possessing your love, but in the meantime there is something lacking to complete my felicity. That is to speak to you, to hear from your lips the sincere confession of your love, to feel you near me for a few minutes.

I ask you to give me permission to speak to you, indicating the day, hour, and place in which we can meet.

You will surely not repent giving me this pleasure, for you will see that I know how to retribute your confidence

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584 intimation of its course. The meeting may finally be arranged at the house of an older female friend. If the two are genuinely interested in each other they may allow the fact to become public, and if the parents are pleased they will in due course [836] be married. Otherwise the girl may keep the whole affair a secret, and after a period of flirtation have an affair with the [263] boy and become pregnant. Any girl who refuses to eat pepper [843] is immediately suspected of pregnancy, and inquiries are made.

*565 When a Class C family wishes to celebrate some occasion 574 such as a birthday, anniversary, or the time in which the twin 252 saints Cosme and Damião are feasted, the woman's friends 262 and any nearby female relatives come in to help her cook. [476] Guests are invited by the husband. The preparation of all [273] food must be done by hand, the chickens killed, cleaned, and plucked, the beans shelled, the shrimp and fish cleaned, the farina cakes made, and the popular liqueurs (licores) prepared by soaking various kinds of fruit in bottles of rum and syrup. At such parties the traditional, favorite Bahian dishes of vatapá, acarejé, carurú, abará, cuscus, and the many moquecas, are served. All these are appetizing, but take much time [251] to prepare and cannot be made too far in advance, for there *565 is no way of preserving food. Unless the household is par- 574 ticularly wealthy, the family seldom gives parties; many never 535 manage to give one. Dancing forms an important part of the festivities. The men bring their drums, tambourines, and gui- •[369] tars, while the women sing and dance the samba. In the rural area, social dancing in mixed couples is rare, but in town it is a common form.

*565 A family may take care of an aged mother, father, or even 888 godparent, or of some other relative on either side. Such a 736 person is well cared for within the family means. Most people in Vila Recôncavo are generous toward others who are in some way unfortunate, and help them if they can. There is little or no complaint if the household has to take in an infirm or aged relative; most people say that the same may happen to them one day and they will have to be taken care of. Perhaps the old person helped them in some way in the past when they needed aid and is now being repaid. Or if some older person wants to live alone, a group of neighbors and relatives all help in preparing meals and supplying food and other wants over an extended period of time. There is no case in Vila Recôncavo of an elderly person being sent to a public institution.

*565 592 848 remarkable fact about these female households is that mother and children manage to remain together as long as they do. Usually the husbandless woman finds work as a laundress or at ironing, or drfes fish (xangó), three tasks which permit her to keep her children near her. When she becomes a cook or servant in someone's home, it is common for her to take the children to work and let them play nearby in the back yard. In such a case her children may eventually receive aid from her employer, who because of the children's continued presence in the house becomes fond of them and wants to do something for them. If this does not happen, the mother herself must take care of their future. As a rule, boys from such families leave town as soon as they are old enough, finding employment in Salvador. Girls, on the other hand, remain with their mothers more often than leaving. If they do leave, they often return, like María José, with children of their own.

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*565 592 735 888 Because of the poverty of these households, there is little or no provision for the care of older people, and it is from this class that come the very few, poor, old women who beg for food, medicine, and other aid. The people of the town are in general extremely generous in view of their own financial circumstances, and they do what they can to help. In Vila Recôncavo there are no "profeasional" beggars; there is no one seated on a street corner asking for alms. There is, instead, a very proud spirit of independence, and having to go from door to door (or, rather, from kitchen to kitchen) asking for food or money is highly repugnant. Families will often send food to an old person regularly in order to avoid face-to-face contact with begging. Begging is also sometimes done through a third person, often a child, again to avoid face-to-face relationships in asking for aid.

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*565 ● 369 Class D does not exist in the rural area, for reasons already noted, particularly the pressure brought to bear by plantation owners and administrators. In addition, however, it also seems that women can only support themselves and their children in the more crowded urban areas, where they can find work which allows them to be near their children.

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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8. Religion

[249] DURING COLONIAL and empire times, religion occupied a large part of the lives of the landed aristocracy. The town of Vila Recôncavo had a Franciscan convent, a large mother church of the parish of São Gonçalo, and the chapel of the [193] Third Order of Franciscans. In the rural area of the community nearly every plantation had its own chapel, which formed part of the owner's house, and its own chaplain to care for the spiritual needs of the landowning families and their [794] slaves. Much of the wealth of landowners was used to build magnificent churches, to sponsor religious processions, and to maintain religious brotherhoods for laymen.

178 In this century, however, Catholicism is no longer the official state religion, the landowners no longer support the 79 town church as they used to, and the Third Order of Franciscans has died out in Vila Recôncavo. Today members of the [565] upper class (Class A) confine their support to the churches they attend in Salvador, leaving the local church to the mercy of God and to the gente pequena of the town. Visits from the Franciscans to celebrate Mass and give instruction for first communion have taken the place of the plantation chaplain and chapel. The priests today say that the people of the community have no intellectual basis for understanding religious teachings or beliefs. Consequently, they say that they now seek only to have as many as possible conform to the outer forms and rituals of the church and refrain from attending the African cults.

175 In addition to the formal structure of the Catholic Church 794 there arose, especially in the nineteenth century, many houses of African cultism, called in this region candomblé. The ad-

among members of Class A. In the cult houses it is said that the African gods go back to Africa for Lent and that the Indian spirits go back to the forests, not coming back again to Vila Recôncavo until Easter Eve. Good Friday is usually marked by the eating of foods with much palm and olive oil, mostly the favorite Bahian dishes of acarajé and vatapá. On Saturday some people in the town "burn Judas." They make a figure stuffed with straw or grass and in the evening parade it through the whole town on a donkey until they arrive at the fishermen's chapel, where the dummy is strung up and burned. While it burns the man who made it reads a long poem which he has composed during the year and which tells about his friends and their individual peculiarities.

During the month of May a service is held each night in the mother church in honor of the Virgin Mary. A priest officiates, and the women of the upper class sing in the choir. This ceremony is attended almost entirely by townspeople, mostly women. St. John's Day, which comes at the end of June and is a popular holiday throughout most of Brazil, goes unnoticed in the town, although at dawn on that day there may be a reveille for St. John (alvorada de São João), which consists of shouting, "Wake up, St. John!" The sixteenth of August is celebrated, mostly by the rural people, as the day of St. Roch, who is considered a foe of pestilence. There is usually a Mass in the mother church on this day, after which the priest conducts Mass in as many of the rural chapels as he can. St. Roch is also celebrated by the African cults.

On September 27, the twin saints Cosme and Damião are celebrated, often with a Mass, but especially with a party called the carurú, the dish distinctive of this day and the days which follow it; for, as with the Day of Kings, Cosme and Damião may be feted any day within a month or so following the proper date. Before a carurú, it is customary for small images of the two saints to be carried about the streets from house to house asking for alms for a party in their honor. Usually the party is for the children, who dance and eat as much as they can, while the older people at first look on, and then finish up the food that was left and also dance. Anyone who is a twin or who likes twins may give a carurú in his house.

St. Francis is also feted, since there is a Franciscan convent in the town, by a devotion on three nights and a Mass on the morning of St. Francis' day. The last Sunday in October,

2: Hutchinson E-4,5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11
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who never miss a Mass, benediction, or prayer. By means of a questionnaire in the town and the rural area, the following data were obtained concerning the average frequency of church attendance per year for men and women over fourteen years of age:

TABLE 11
FREQUENCY OF CHURCH ATTENDANCE

Urban Number of times per year		Class	Rural Number of times per year	
Males	Females		Males	Females
		A	19	23
40	96	B	4	3
17	25	C	3	3
4	41	D		

Several things are shown by this table. First, the higher a man's social position, the more often he goes to church, at least in classes B, C, and D. Second, the frequency of attendance by the women of all classes is considerably greater than that of the men. Third, the women of Class A attend church fewer times per year than do the women of classes B, C, and D of the urban area. Fourth, there are great differences in the rural and urban attendance: people from the plantations seldom go to town for Mass, preferring to wait for some special plantation occasion when the priest will go to the plantation. The difference between the attendance frequencies of Class A and Classes B and C of the rural zone is due to the time that Class A spends in Salvador, where members often attend Sunday Mass, as well as family Masses.

African Cults

Brazilian candomblé is usually thought of as a syncretism between African cultism and Catholicism. There has been a partial identification of the African deities with Catholic saints. For example, Ôgũn, the African god of war, has been identified with St. Anthony; Ôxóssi, deity of the hunt, with St. George; Ômolú, the god of pestilence, with St. Roch; Êxu, the trickster, with Satan; Yansan, with St. Barbara; and Xangô, with either St. Jerome or St. Barbara. There has been

2: Hutchinson E-4, 5 (1950-1951) 1957 SO11 Bahia Brazilians SO11

some confusion in the minds of the cultists themselves as to exactly which saint an African spirit represents, and there often are slight differences in interpretation which do not, however, upset the cult practices to any great extent. Cultism in Brazil has been described in detail by Nina Rodrigues,[3] Arthur Ramos,[4] and Edison Carneiro,[5] and by the Americans Donald Pierson[6] and Ruth Landes,[7] all of whom concentrated on cultism in the city of Salvador; Eduardo Octavio da Costa[8] has good material on urban-rural cultism in Maranhão (northern Brazil). In Vila Recôncavo the syncretisms are being forgotten as the content of cults changes from African spirits to the Indian spirits, for which no identification is made with the Catholic saints.

Cultism apparently got its start in Bahia in the early nineteenth century. Carneiro[9] sets the date for the establishment of the first cult house in the city as 1838. Old people in Vila Recôncavo do not remember cultism beyond two generations ago. There is one woman in town who is in her late nineties and who only remembers hearing of her mother and her mother's generation as active in cults. Apparently the force of cultism increased with the decrease in Catholic proselytization, as the number of priests in the rural areas diminished. It also increased in tempo with the manumission of slaves, and apparently was one of the institutions through which former slaves bought the freedom of other slaves.

Today the cults of the rural area are far less elaborate than those in the city of Salvador, although it seems that even in the city, cultism is showing the same general trend toward disintegration which is so strongly apparent in the rural area. In both places there is a shift away from African ritual to practices connected with the Indian spirits, whose demands

3. Raymundo Nina Rodrigues, O animismo fetichista dos negros bahianos (Rio de Janeiro, 1935).

4. Arthur Ramos, O negro brasileiro (2nd ed.; São Paulo, 1940).

5. Edison Carneiro, Candomblés da Bahia, (Publicações do Museu do Estado, No. 8 [Bahia, 1948]).

6. Donald Pierson, Negroes in Brazil (Chicago, 1942).

7. Ruth Landes, The City of Women (New York, 1947).

8. Octavio da Costa Eduardo, The Negro in Northern Brazil (New York, 1948).

9. Carneiro, Candomblés da Bahia, p. 31.

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are easier to understand and to comply with. In the town of Vila Recôncavo there are two houses of cult activities with female leaders, and in the rural area there is one such house with a male leader. These are the three houses which were studied by the author. There are six more in the area, but they are much smaller and poorer than these three.

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One of the three is led by a woman almost a hundred years old. She is now completely blind and can barely walk about the house. She has not been outside of it for several years. She has an assistant, a young man in his twenties, who as a child brought her firewood and water and who now has been taught by her much of the cult ritual. The house is now inactive, for the old woman has outlived her former followers, or else they have moved away. The room which contains the insignia of the African spirits is still kept up, and the proper foods and drinks are always placed there by the young man, in accordance with the instructions of the old lady. She herself does little, although she still consults the spirits by throwing cowrie shells. Her fame as a cult leader is widespread, and people still come to her for help, but she is too feeble to do much. In her day she was a "purist" and went through the long training period necessary to become a devotee and later a cult leader. She still knows a few words of Nagó, the Yoruban language, and laments the passing of her generation, with whom she says she conversed only in this language. Several of her initiates broke away and started their own houses in other places, although according to her they were not ready to assume leadership since they did not know enough of the mysteries.

The other two houses studied are led by disciples of one of the old woman's devotees who broke away. There is no contact among the three, although the two younger leaders are in awe of the old woman, aware that she knows much more than they do and that in her eyes they are only upstarts, manipulating something mystical which they are not sufficiently prepared to control. She does not intimidate them, however, and now ignores their activities, since they both have recently accepted the Indian spirits which the old woman feels are bogus. She is more interested in passing on her knowledge to the young man who cares for her house, though she complains that he is too indifferent to her teachings. He is learning a great deal, however, though he has not yet "made" his saint, that is, he is not yet a full-fledged devotee. Preparations for

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[787] then the drums are calling the other saints, the circle has been formed again, and the process is repeated. This goes on frequently all night long, ending only with the dawn. The
•[369] rural cult house has a general ceremony for all the saints of the house during the New Year holiday, and it often takes three or four days and nights of continuous dancing and drumming for all the participants to "fulfill their obligations." Activities cease for a while during the day while everyone rests, and then pick up again late in the afternoon.

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[787] The general rule is that the person who "has a saint" must fulfill his obligations to that spirit at least once a year, if possible on the saint's day. Of course, the proper foods must be supplied constantly throughout the year, but at least once a year the saint must be feted, that is, called to possess the person and dance. The general term used for the ceremony is bater (to beat, referring to the drums), although several other euphemisms are used, such as, "We are going to have a party," or, "We are going to play." If the person is unable to fete the saint on the specified day, however, he must do it at the general ceremony at the end of the year. Not to comply with the rituals would be disastrous. The zelador of the house always fetes his saint on the proper day as well as at the end of the year. In both active cult houses the zeladores have more than one saint and try to fete each on the specified date. All participants keep the symbolic paraphernalia of their saints in the cult house and look after them personally if possible, but for many of them who live far from the house the zelador does this. In many cases a person who "has a saint" has a miniature pegi in his own house and also keeps there the proper foods and drinks. In some cases an older woman may even [782] have a ceremony in her home if she can afford the requisite sacrificial animals and foods.

794 Membership in the cults is not always passed down from parents to children. Many of the younger participants have come into the cults on their own and may be children of families which are unsympathetic to cult activities. When a mother belongs to a cult, her children may be indoctrinated in the rituals because of their continued attendance at the ceremonies. But unless the children feel the call themselves, no pressure is applied upon them to enter the activities, though they may always participate vicariously in the ceremonies. The majority of the population say they have nothing to do with the cults and are ignorant of the ritual. But few members of

the lower classes fail to have at least some knowledge of the ceremonial. In a region where there is little entertainment, such as in the town of Vila Recôncavo and especially in the rural area, the cults provide a major spectator activity, and those who have been exposed to it through their lives appreciate it as such. The number of active participants, however, is small. The house which is functioning in the town has about two dozen initiates, while the rural house is somewhat larger, having about forty-five devotees, only seven of whom are drawn from the plantation on which the house is situated. The rural house is more active for several reasons, according to local informants: the costumes are prettier, and therefore people prefer to dance there; the cult leader is a stronger personality and a better healer than the leader of the town house. The rural house is also more conveniently located for people from the surrounding plantations. Nevertheless, the small number of participants is indicative of the weakness of the institution in this area as a whole.

Healing, however, does play an important part in the cult activities, for the zelador who has "made his saint" has usually learned a large number of ritual and herbal cures. In fact, it is the healing aspect which brings most people to the cult activities. Sick persons, however, generally prefer to entrust themselves first to the ministrations of the plantation owner, plantation nurse, or town doctor. But if they feel they are not being helped, they turn to the cult house. If the sickness is diagnosed by the cult leader as a clear sign that the person is in contact with a spirit, the patient must enter the rites as an initiate or suffer the consequences. But for the ordinary run of headaches, stomach troubles, and skin eruptions, the cult leader draws upon his knowledge of herbal remedies. This knowledge is supposed to come from his deity, who often is St. Roch in this area, and who knows the cure. In fact, the leader of the rural house once compared his establishment with a pharmacy. He is paid for these medical services. Often one hears a person wishing that he could "have" such-and-such a saint so he would know how to cure and be able to make money, as do the cult leaders.

It is a general opinion that cult leaders are financially well off, although they themselves staunchly declare that they are not and that they must live from alms. As a rule all the participants in a house are obliged to contribute to the ceremonial honoring the leader's deity, which is usually the most extravagant ceremonial of the house.

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the lighter-skinned people for intermarriage with the mass of light-skinned people of the capital. Most of the townspeople have connexions of some sort in Salvador and travel back and forth a great deal. Some, mostly girls, take employment in the city as maids, and there either get married, or '*aparecem grávidas*' (show up pregnant), afterwards returning home to stay or for visits.

On the plantations the people have little opportunity for such mixing, owing to their isolation. Mixing occurs either on the same plantation or between neighbouring plantations, and since most of the plantation workers are dark, the offspring tends to remain dark. There is comparatively little marriage between people of the urban and rural zones.

The people of the town consider themselves far superior culturally to the *tabaréu* or 'hick'[1] of the rural zone. Not only are they lighter in colour, but they are more 'citified', having more contact with the outside world, and this contact increases daily. Only in the town did the lower-class people express interest in the racial situation in the United States and particularly question segregation, a practice they could not understand. In the rural zone, the United States meant only some place other than Bahia. This is given as an example of the difference in degree of sophistication between the two parts of a comparatively small area. The sophistication of the townspeople tends to increase, as does their lightness of colour, while on the *fazendas* the colour has remained almost static, as has the degree of instruction.

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Class is one of the most important factors in the everyday lives of the people of Vila Recôncavo. *Who's Who* is well known to all the residents of the community. Almost any resident will say that there are two classes, the rich and the poor. But definitions vary greatly as to what is rich, while practically all agree as to what is poor. Rich means, primarily, having money, a good house, more than one suit of clothing, a horse or mule, a servant to do the housework, and not having to do manual work. It also includes power of some description over other people. Poor is the reverse of all these things; working hard for someone else, a mud house with a dirt floor, one suit of clothes and one pair of shoes. For everyday ranking, this division into only two classes may serve.

A closer analysis shows that four distinct classes can be recognized, as stated earlier. There are many elements which go toward defining the classes—wealth, education and family. Race is also important. People say that wealth is the most important, education the second, and race the third in importance. Thus race is but one of a number of elements ranking people in a social scale, rather than a separating factor which divides them into distinct groups.

[1] Other terms used to convey the same meaning are *gente do mato* (people of the forest) and *gente do roça* (backwoodsmen).

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creasing desire to rise in the social hierarchy. In the rural districts physical type is less important than in the town, since there is less chance for one to rise socially, the positions of prestige being highly limited. But in the town and at the *usina*, the opportunities are greater, and therefore more emphasis is put upon racial type; although, even in the town, racial type is not the most important criterion for ascending the social scale, the most important being the possession of wealth and education. However, in the town, people who have wealth and education also show a tendency to 'lighten', generation after generation, as well as to ascend socially. There is no such thing as 'passing' in Vila Recôncavo, and there is no need for it, for many individuals who clearly show traces of Negro ancestry are called white and treated as white, with no constraint or embarrassment. Also there are no social activities closed to the *homem de côr*, provided he has the money and the education to take advantage of them. Physical attraction is also extremely important in the social acceptance of rejection of people, as is shown in the complicated fashion of classifying and stereotyping individuals, and the idealization of the *morena*.

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In other areas of the Recôncavo, the personal element has been lost to a great extent, and has been replaced with a rigid class system, based upon wealth, personal initiative, education, racial type and 'luck'. For the most part, the tradition of the *patrão* is disappearing and people are more dependent upon their own resources in a more strictly monetary economy. Vila Recôncavo still however remains sufficiently isolated to preserve much of the tradition of the past, of easy-going personal relations between people of all classes and racial types.

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3. Ibid., p. 29.
4. Oliveira Martins (3rd edition), p. 30.
5. Araújo Pinho, op. cit., p. 49.
6. Pierson (1942), p. 139.
7. Ibid., p. 230.
8. Rodrigues (1935), Chapter 7. Pierson (1942), Chapter 10. Landis (1947). Carneiro (1948).

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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ticularly São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro but also Belo Horizonte, Recife, Porto Alegre, and others, including Bahia.[3] For, stimulated by needs which could not be satisfied by importation from Europe or the United States under the conditions existing during two World Wars—and more particularly during the last one—and also by growing internal demand, industrialization has been assuming a continually larger role in what has previously been a predominantly agricultural and pastoral country. Concomitant with this increased industrialization—but not to be confused with it, since, for one thing, it began long before—there also has occurred a rapid and extensive growth of the cities. A high rate of natural increase of the population has meanwhile continued in all parts of the country, so that it is now estimated that approximately two and a half million persons are being added annually to the Brazilian people. New primary, secondary, technological and professional schools have been set up, in an urgent, but not yet adequate attempt—since it began with a huge deficit—to keep up with expanding educational needs.

The emergence of new employment opportunities, espe-

[3] Since the matter may have puzzled some readers, it perhaps should be pointed out that, in keeping with the traditional patterns in such cases during colonization and later, the term "Bahia" was long used to indicate, on the one hand, the Capitania, Province or State of Bahia and, on the other, its capital city, even though the latter had another (and less used) name—Salvador. At the time of our research, the capital city of the State of Bahia—where most of our research was carried on—was widely and commonly known also as "Bahia"; and this name is still being employed. Since this name was used in the original study, it will be retained in this Introduction, in order to avoid possible confusion when consulting different parts of this edition. Incidentally, the spelling of "Bahia" is correctly given here and throughout this book, although, for a time during the "spelling reform" in Brazil (but only temporarily), an effort was made in some quarters to write the name differently.

4: Pierson Z-4,5 (1935-1937) 1967
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The emergence of new employment opportunities, especially in the centers of industry but also elsewhere, not only has stimulated internal migration but—more importantly for our interest here—has also facilitated social mobility. This has brought significant change, particularly to persons in the lower ranks, who are extensively (but far from exclusively) of dark color, and whose economic position has long been, on the whole, stagnant. There is clearly evident in Brazil what perhaps is the principal long-range trend in the modern world, namely, the rise of the underprivileged classes into increasingly greater economic and political power; while the growing anonymity of the developing cities is making human relations more impersonal and categoric, and this has led to a heightened sense of insecurity while also aiding the escape of individuals of color from the controls of the old superordinate and subordinate relationships developed during slavery and giving these individuals new conceptions of themselves and of others.

Until comparatively recent years, a middle class like that known in Europe or the United States scarcely existed. At the time of our research at Bahia, for instance, there were only two clearly-defined classes in the city, as attested (see pp. 15 ff.) by the popular division of the inhabitants into *ricos* (literally, "the rich") and *pobres* ("the poor"). There were many families, however, whose occupation, skills, education, or level of living placed them above the lower class but who were not attached by kinship or achievement to the upper ranks. They thus occupied an intermediate position between the two extremes of the social pyramid, although they tended to identify themselves with the interests and values of the upper class. In recent decades, however, the changes mentioned above have produced occupational and educational opportunities never before known, and also greatly stimulated those previously existent, so that, in the large and more

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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industrialized cities at least, these intermediate ranks have developed into a definite middle class.

The so-called "traditional" families, who for so long virtually constituted almost the entire upper class, still play an important role in industrial, commercial, intellectual, and political activities; but although they perhaps were never a completely closed unit, they now are having to accept into their ranks as never before an increasing number of persons who have risen from the intermediate tiers by reason of occupational or educational achievement, acquired wealth, or political influence.

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Brazil is thus in process of transition from a predominantly rural, agricultural and pastoral society, with a rather rigid class system, to an urban and industrialized society, where class lines are somewhat less important, and other elements of the economic, political and sociological structures are changing. There is a considerable degree of fluidity, in the midst of which the high value formerly placed upon primary relations, particularly the intimate attachments of members of large kinship, godparent or friendship groups, upon exclusiveness toward groups outside those of immediate personal contact, upon class membership, and upon loyalty is giving away, and new values are emerging. These changes are so extensive that Charles Wagley (1960a) has referred to them as "the Brazilian revolution."

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Owing also to the complex and rather subtle character of the Brazilian racial situation, its analysis is not an easy or simple procedure. Regarding the fact that this differs from that in the United States there is no disagreement. But there is disagreement regarding the character of this difference, its extent, and the circumstances which produced it.

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A sizable obstacle to analyzing this situation, and also to making it intelligible to persons in the United States, is a

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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daughters immediately behind the father, then the mother, followed by her mulatto *femme de chambre*, next the family *ama*, or Negro nurse, and the latter's female assistant, then the father's Negro body servant, and last a young slave in training for domestic service.[30] On such occasions it was a matter of considerable pride to dress the slaves as well as the family's station would permit. As late as 1852 a visitor to Rio recorded:

> Though less generally the custom than formerly, it is still the habit of some of the *bourgeoisie* . . . . at least on Sundays and great holidays, to promenade to and from church, by whole families, parents and children, from adults to infants, with a retinue of servants in their best dresses . . . . bringing up the rear, and, whether male or female, ... usually as elaborately, if not as expensively, dressed as the rest of the family; and often, in the case of the women, with an equal display of laces, muslins, and showy jewelry.[31]

In the cities domestic slaves ordinarily lived in the same houses as their masters, occupying the lower floor; or, where the buildings were only of one story, "a sort of cellar" underneath.[32] Since the mistress of the household and her daughters lived a very secluded life in the interior of the home,[33] they were in almost constant contact with domestic slaves and the slave's children. Debret has sketched[34] one such intimate scene in which two Negro women are at work,

[30] *Ibid.*, Vol. II, Pl. 5 ("Un Employé du gouvernement sortant de chez lui avec sa famille").

[31] C. S. Stewart, *Brazil and La Plata* (New York, 1856), p. 295.

[32] Maria Graham, *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil, 1821–1823* (London, 1824), p. 145.

[33] Until recent years, women from the upper classes in Bahia were rarely seen on the public thoroughfares and then only in the company of a male escort.

[34] Debret, *op. cit.*, Vol. II, Pl. 6 ("Une dame brésilienne dans son intérieur") and p. 33.

4: Pierson Z-4, 5 (1935-1937) 1967
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seated on the floor at the feet of their mistress and her daughter, while two little Negro babies play near by.[25] Koster wrote of an estate near Recife that the "Great House" was full of young Negro children. "They were quite naked, and played with each other, and with some large dogs which were lying at full length upon the floor. These ebon cupids were plainly great favorites, and seemed to employ the greater part of the thoughts of the good ladies, the youngest of whom was on the other side of fifty; and even the priest laughed at their gambols."[26] Visiting in the interior of Rio de Janeiro province in 1823, Maria Graham noted that "the female in-door slaves . . . . have been mostly . . . . brought up in their mistress' house." She saw "children of all ages and colors running about, who seemed to be as tenderly treated as if they had been of the family," and commented that, under these conditions, slavery was "more like that of the patriarchal times, where the purchased servant became to all intents one of the family."[27] "How many times," writes Lacerda, "have we not seen masters who did not hesitate to bring their little mulatto slaves to the family table?"[28] Relations within these households became so intimate that, as sometimes also occurred in our South, white women took to their breasts colored babies whose mothers had died in childbirth.[29]

In the home, on the plantation, along the roads of the

[25] Debret writes (*ibid.*, p. 39): "A Rio de Janeiro et dans toutes les autres villes du Brésil, il est d'usage, pendant le tête-à-tête d'un *dîner marital*, que le mari s'occupe silencieusement de ses affaires, et que la *femme* s'amuse de ses *petits négrillons*, qui remplacent la famille presque éteinte des petits chiens carlins en Europe."

[26] *Op. cit.*, pp. 258–59.

[27] *Op. cit.*, pp. 279–80.

[28] Jean Baptiste de Lacerda, "The *Metis*, or Half-breeds, of Brazil," *Papers on Inter-racial Problems*, ed. G. Spiller (London, 1911), p. 379.

[29] Gilberto Freyre, *Casa grande e senzala* (2d ed.; Rio, 1936), p. 327.